Augustine beyond the Book

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Augustine beyond the Book: Intermediality, Transmediality, and Reception

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UNDER THE COVER OF AUGUSTINE: AUGUSTINIAN SPIRITUALITY AND CATHOLIC EMBLEMS IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DUTCH REPUBLIC[1]

Feike Dietz

In the early modern emblematic genre, *motti* (mottoes), *picturae* (pictures) and *subscriptiones* (epigrams) were combined. The different parts of the emblem were intended to create an effect more powerful than that of any of the individual components alone: the combination of these media communicates a message, which is not fully contained in any one of the constituent parts, but in the playful combination of provocative texts and intriguing images. After its invention in the 1530s in Italy, the emblematic genre soon became very popular in Western Europe. In the beginning the genre was intended for a learned audience, but when the Latin was replaced by the vernacular, emblem books also became popular among a less educated readership.[2]

Because of the strong connection and interaction between word and image, emblems are profoundly intermedial. By examining the role and presentation of Augustine in emblems, this article contributes to our insight into the intermedial reception history of the Church Father. It will shed some light on the interaction between word and image in the reception of Augustine's ideas, and on the dynamic transfer of these ideas from one intermedial product to the other. More specifically, it will

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[2] An extensive overview of the international emblematic genre was recently published by: Peter M. Daly, ed., *A Companion to Emblem Studies* (New York, 2008). *A Companion* opens with a clear introduction to emblem theory: Peter M. Daly, 'Emblems: An Introduction,' in *A Companion*, pp. 1–23.

analyse the textual and visual interpretation of three tracts attributed to Augustine—the *Meditationes*, the *Soliloquia*, and the *Manuale*—in two Catholic adaptations of the religious emblem book *Pia Desideria* (Pious Wishes, Antwerp, 1624) in the Dutch Republic: *Pia Desideria* (1628) and *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (Devout Meditations, 1631).[3] The 1628 *Pia Desideria* is a meticulous reprint of the original *Pia Desideria* by the Jesuit priest Herman Hugo (1588–1629) and the engraver Boëtius a Bolswert (1580–1633), which combined devotional images and erudite Latin texts in a learned way. In *Vierighe meditation etc.*, the *Pia Desideria* imagery was combined with Dutch translations of the devotional prose tracts *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, and *Manuale*.

Augustine in the Sacred Emblem Tradition

It is a well-known fact that Augustine plays an important part in an emblematic subgenre which originated in the Low Countries: the religious love emblem. In 1615, the Antwerp painter and poet Vaenius (Otto van Veen) was the first to give the popular secular tradition of love emblematics a religious turn, transforming his *Amorum Emblemata* (1608) into a collection of religious love emblems entitled *Amoris Divini Emblemata* (1615). Consequently, Cupid was substituted by a childlike figure with wings and a halo, while references to the classical love poet Ovid were replaced by Augustinian quotes.[4] Arnoud Visser found no fewer than eighty-two citations from twenty different Augustinian works in Vaenius's sixty religious emblems, making Augustine the most cited authority in Vaenius's emblem book.[5] That authority, Visser argued, "does not represent one

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[3] In this article, a "*Pia Desideria* adaptation" is a "book in the tradition of the *Pia Desideria.*" Within the scope of this research, it is not useful to differentiate between careful reprints, creative translations and far-reaching appropriations. The complete title of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* is: *Sinte AUGUSTINUS Vierighe Meditatien ofte aen-dachten. Ende de Alleenspraecken der Zielen tot GODT. Ende ooc dat Handt-Boecxken vander aen-schouwinghe CHRISTI. Item noch Sinte Bernardus devoote aendachten. Ende een Boecxken van S. Ancelmus, ghenaemt: De Strale der Goddelijcker Liefden, met sommighe van sijne Ghebeden.* I will use the short title *Vierighe meditatien etc.* This is not to be confused with the book *Vierighe meditatien etc.* and the tract *Vierighe meditatien* as a part of that book.

[4] Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-century Imagery* (Rome, 1975 [1964]), p. 155.

[5] Arnoud Visser, 'Commonplaces of Catholic Love: Otto van Veen, Michel Hoyer and St. Augustine between Humanism and the Counter Reformation,' in *Learned Love: Proceedings of the Emblem Project Utrecht Conference on Dutch Love Emblems and the Internet (November 2006)*, ed. Els Stronks and Peter Boot (The Hague, 2007), p. 36. Visser also states: "[F]or roughly a quarter of the emblems (16 examples) Augustine seems to have prompted the invention."

of the theological positions" of the Reformation parties nor promote "a specific confessional message" in *Amoris Divini Emblemata*.[6] The Church Father functioned as a universal authority in Vaenius's collection—while many Protestants and Catholics interpreted Augustine in their own confessional way during the Reformation controversies.[7]

Vaenius's *Amoris Divini Emblemata* unleashed a new trend. In the seventeenth century, many sacred love emblem books modelled on Vaenius's *Amoris Divini Emblemata* were published. These new emblem collections all represent the children *Amor divinus* ('divine love') and *Anima* ('the human soul'), and they all share a common interest in Augustine.[8] The most famous "collection of emblems inspired by that of Vaenius" is the *Pia Desideria* ('Pious Wishes', Antwerp, 1624) by the Jesuit priest Herman Hugo (1588–1629) and the engraver Boëtius a Bolswert (1580–1633).[9] Following Vaenius's lead, the *Pia Desideria* includes many quotations from Augustine, but their prominence and functions have never been explored.[10] However, there are several reasons to assume that the Augustinian tracts *Meditationes, Soliloquia*, and *Manuale* lend universal authority to the

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[6] Visser, 'Commonplaces of Catholic love,' (see above, n. 5), pp. 40, 45.

[7] Warfield considered the Reformation as "the ultimate triumph of Augustine's doctrine of grace over Augustine's doctrine of the Church." See Benjamin Warfield, *Calvin and Augustine* (Philadelphia, 1956), p. 322. MacCulloch adds that during the Reformation, "western Christians would have to decide for themselves which aspect of his thought mattered more: his emphasis on obedience to the Catholic Church or discussion of salvation." See MacCulloch on Augustine: Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490–1700* (London, 2003), pp. 107–4.

[8] According to Porteman, the fundamental principle of all Counter-Reformational emblem books is based on the antithesis between secular and sacred love, originally deriving from Augustine. See Karel Porteman, 'Nieuwe gegevens over de drukgeschiedenis, de bronnen en de auteur van de embleembundel *Amoris divini et humani antipathia*,' *Ons geestelijk erf* 49:2 (1975), p. 194.

[9] Praz was the first to notice that relationship: Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-century Imagery* (see above, n. 4), p. 143.

[10] However, Hugo's use of Augustine was sometimes mentioned. For example, see G. D. Rödter, *Via piae animae. Grundlagenuntersuchung zur emblematischen Verknüpfung von Bild und Wort in den "Pia Desideria" (1624) des Herman Hugo S.J. (1588–1629)* (Frankfurt a/M., 1992), p. 89. But, his use of Augustine was never studied thoroughly. Without a doubt, this scholarly lacuna issued from the lack of interest in the prose parts of the *Pia Desideria*. Since emblem scholars usually find the specific cryptic character of the emblem in the combination of the *pictura, motto*, and *subscriptio*, they did not note the prominent position of Augustine in the prose fragments before. Elsewhere I have explored the prose texts of the *Pia Desideria* more globally, focusing on a broader framework than just its dependence on Augustine. See Feike Dietz, 'Dark Images, Clear Words: National and International Characteristics of Illustrated Meditation Literature from the missio Hollandica,' in *Discourses of Meditation in Art and Literature, 1300–1600*, ed. Karl Enenkel and Walter Melion [*Intersections: Yearbook for Early Modern Studies* 17] (Leiden, 2010), pp. 291–320.

Pia Desideria adaptations made by Dutch Catholics—just as they did in Vaenius's earlier collection. Due to the objectionable position of Catholic illustrated literature in the Calvinist-oriented Dutch Republic, it is a challenging and plausible suggestion.[11] Second, *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, and *Manuale* were immensely popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Judging by their extensive use in both Protestant and Catholic circles, they seem to have had the capacity to transcend confessional boundaries and promote a universal Christian message.[12]

Nevertheless, my analysis will show that the earliest Dutch reception of *Pia Desideria* created a devotional presentation of the historical Augustine, in accordance with Catholic literary and visual traditions. Augustine's devotional reading was increased and simplified by medial interferences and transformations. Rather than being a neutral model, the intermedial presentation of Augustine confirmed the confessionalism of Dutch Catholics in the Republic.

Augustine in the Pia Desideria (*1628*)

The Catholic printer and publisher Pieter Jacobsz. Paets (1587–1657) from Amsterdam published *Vierighe meditatien etc.* in 1631. Until now, the volume has been considered as the first Dutch reuse of the *Pia Desideria picturae*.[13] However, Paets had already printed two *Pia Desideria*

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[11] On the position of Catholic imagery and illustrated literature in the first half of the seventeenth century, see for example Els Stronks, 'Literature and the Shaping of Religious Identities,' *History of Religions* 49:3 (2010), pp. 219–53.

[12] On the considerable number of editions in Latin and vernacular languages, see for example Robert Sturges, 'Pseudo-Augustinian Writings,' forthcoming in *Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. Karla Pollmann et al. (Oxford, 2013); Julia D. Staykova, 'The Augustinian Soliloquies of an Early Modern Reader: A Stylistic Relation of Shakespeare's Hamlet?,' *Literature and Theology* 23 (2009), pp. 121–41. For example, the tracts inspired Lutheran tracts by Musculus and Moller, and the music by the Catholic composer William Byrd. On Musculus and Moller, see for example Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries* (New York, 2006), p. 120; Robert Kolb, 'The Fathers in the Service of Lutheran Teaching: Andreas Musculus' Use of Patristic Sources' in *Auctoritas patrum*, ed. Leif Grane et al., vol. 2 (Mainz, 1998), pp. 105–23. On Byrd, see Kerry M. C. McCarthy, 'Byrd, Augustine, and Trubue, Domine,' *Early Music* 32:4 (2004), pp. 569–75.

[13] The art historian Verheggen, who studied the Catholic illustrated meditation tradition in the Northern Netherlands, considers *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (1645) as the first reuse of the *Pia Desideria picturae* in the Dutch Republic. However, she did not account for the first edition of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* published fourteen years before. See E. M. F. Verheggen, *Beelden voor passie en hartstocht. Bid- en devotieprenten in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, 17de en 18de eeuw* (Zutphen, 2006), p. 79. Verschueren also dates the first edition of Paets's

adaptations in 1628: he published a Latin reprint of the *Pia Desideria* and an illustrated edition of Thomas a Kempis's *Alleen-spraecke* ('Soliloquy') with figures modelled on the *Pia Desideria*.[14] In both cases, he hid his involvement behind names and addresses of printers from the Catholic Southern Netherlands in the title pages. The Latin edition was published under the name of the Antwerp printer Hendrick Aertssens, who had already issued *Pia Desideria*'s first edition from 1624. Paets attributed the printing of the illustrated *Alleen-spraecke* to the Leuven printer Ian Maes. In spite of this, a visible indication of the connection between the two *Pia Desideria* adaptations and Paets still exists: the title pages of the books reveal that the woodcuts—carefully created after the *Pia Desideria* by Christoffel van Sichem II (1581–1658)—were made on behalf of "P.I.P.": Pieter Jacobszoon Paets [fig. 1].

I am not the first to notice this marked link between Paets and these particular volumes. In 1924, the literary scholar Maurits Sabbe suggested an explanation for this connection. According to him, Paets lent Van Sichem's woodcuts to Aertssens as a token of his gratitude for being able to reuse the *Pia Desideria* copperplates as woodcuts.[15] However, that is not a plausible conclusion. Why did Maes also use the woodcuts in the same year? How and why did Paets ship forty-six blocks to the Southern Netherlands while the Spanish war was going on? Why did he not use his own woodcuts until 1631, considering he had bought a printing press of his own in 1625?[16] And how are we to explain the absence of approbation for *Alleen-spraecke* when we know that it was impossible to publish books without Catholic approval in the Southern Netherlands?

I assume that Aertssens's 1628 edition of the *Pia Desideria* and Maes's *Alleen-spraecke* were both printed by Paets. They are part of a collection of no less than seven books published by Paets secretly between 1628 and 1631.[17] The books were all published under the names of several printers

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Vierighe meditatien etc. to 1645: L. Verschueren, 'Antonius van Hemert,' *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 7 (1933), p. 412.

[14] *Alleen-spraecke* is briefly explored in Feike Dietz, 'Sprekende beelden, sprekende woorden. De plaats van de tekst in het onderzoek naar de Noord-Nederlandse *Pia Desideria*-receptie,' *Kunstlicht* 30 (2009), pp. 40–6.

[15] M. Sabbe, 'Mag Pieter Jacobsz. Paets onder de Antwerpsche drukker gerekend worden?', *Het boek: tweede reeks van het tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen* 13 (1924), pp. 77–8.

[16] On Paets's printing press, see H. F. Wijnman, 'De Van Sichempuzzle. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse grafische kunst', *Oud Holland* 46 (1929), p. 237.

[17] The collection consists of *Pia desideria* (Antwerp, Hendrick Aertssens: 1628), *Alleen-spraecke* (Leuven, 1628), *De Navolginge Christi* (Leuven, 1628), *Der zielen lust-hof* (Leuven,

Figure 1. Christoffel van Sichem II, front page of *Alleen-spraecke* (Leuven, Ian Maes: 1628), woodcut. Copy Utrecht University: MAG: ODA 7859.

Fig. 2a. Ornament from books printed under the cover of pseudo-printers. Edition used here: Thomas a Kempis, *Alleenspraecke* (Leuven, Ian Maes: 1628). Copy Utrecht University: MAG: ODA 7859

Fig. 2b. Ornament from books printed openly. Edition used here: Justus de Harduwijn, *Goddelycke wenschen* (Amsterdam, Pieter Jacobsz. Paets: 1645). Copy Utrecht University: THO: WRT 57-376

Figure 2. Ornaments from Paets's publications, woodcuts.

from the Southern Netherlands, while explicitly created on behalf of Paets, a detail evidenced by the inclusion of his name or initials on the covers. The volumes made use of the same capitals and ornaments, which can also be found in the works openly published by Paets—but not in contemporary books by Aertssens or other Southern printers [fig. 2].

Due to the fact that Paets carefully reprinted Aertssens's first edition, Augustine's position in the 1628 *Pia Desideria* is equal to his position in the 1624 edition.[18] Both editions of the *Pia Desideria* include forty-six emblems, consisting of a *pictura*, a biblical phrase as a *motto*, a lyrical Latin poem which is called the *subscriptio*, and an anthology of prose fragments from religious texts.[19] In a total of 610 prose fragments, Augustine is cited no less than 179 times. The *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, and *Manuale*, usually found together in manuscripts and printed texts, are the most used. Nearly half of the quotations attributed to Augustine can be traced to these tracts. Eighty per cent of the emblems consist of at least one quote from the *Meditationes, Soliloquia,* or *Manuale*. Usually, two to seven quotes are included.

By choosing to use these tracts intensively, Hugo presented the historical Augustine in a very particular way. As spurious works, the *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, and *Manuale* occupy a special position in Augustine's

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1629), *Het leven vande Heylighe Maghet* (Leuven, 1629), and *Catholijcke Epistelen ende Evangelien* (Leuven, 1630).

[18] As I have already stated, the engravings by Bolswert were replaced by Van Sichem's woodcuts. This is the only notable change Paets made in his 1628 reprint.

[19] *Pia Desideria* consists of three parts, each with fifteen emblems. There is one opening emblem which does not belong to one of the three parts. There are no prose fragments in the opening emblem.

reception.[20] They are in fact compilations of fragments by several medieval theologians, consisting of texts by, among others, Hugh of St. Victor, Anselm, and Alcuin, as well as a number of quotations from Augustine's *Confessiones*.[21] In the forthcoming *Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, the literary scholar Robert Sturges considers the *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, and *Manuale* as part of an interpretative process by which Augustine's work came to be read in a devotional way. By highlighting meditation on the love of God, they stimulated an affective reception of Augustine.[22] To show a preference for those pseudo-Augustinian tracts is to adopt that devotional perception of Augustine.

By his careful selection of fragments, Hugo even highlighted that perception. Half of Hugo's quotes from the three tracts were taken from the *Soliloquia*, the tract most explicitly focusing on the affective relationship between God and the human believer. Hugo's use of the *Meditationes* confirms his preference for affective fragments: eighty per cent of Hugo's *Meditationes* quotes are derived from the last quarter of the tract, which is dedicated to the love and longing for God. The first part of the *Meditationes*, containing explanations about Christianity and the Holy Trinity, was almost entirely ignored by Hugo. In addition, the informative text *Manuale* was rarely used either.

Just as the pseudo-Augustinian texts appropriated Augustine's authority for promoting affective piety, Hugo's selection and interpretation of the *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, and *Manuale* emphasized the longing for God. The *Pia Desideria* presents the historical Augustine in a specific way, which I would like to call "devotional," and which I define as focusing

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[20] Many intellectuals realized that these texts were not authentic: Erasmus for instance wrote that the tracts were written by "someone who knew Augustine's works well." See for example Robert Kolb, 'The Fathers in the Service of Lutheran teaching,' p. 114. Hugo did not bring up the attribution of authorship of the tracts, but it is unlikely that the highly educated Jesuit was unaware of the disputed origins of these texts. Hugo studied philosophy and theology in Brussels, Leuven, and (probably) Antwerp. He taught at the Jesuit colleges in Antwerp and Brussels. He wrote several scholarly books, including his influential study *De prima scribenda origine et universa rei literariae antiquitate* (1617) on the history of written language. Biographical details can be found in P. Ronse, *Herman Hugo: Een Zuid-Nederlandse humanist uit het begin der 17e eeuw*, unpublished thesis (Leuven, 1944), pp. 10–40.

[21] On the sources of the tracts, see for example Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries* (see above, n. 12), p. 119; Sturges, 'Pseudo-Augustinian Writings' (see above, n. 12).

[22] Sturges, 'Pseudo-Augustinian Writings' (see above, n. 12).

on the attraction of the soul to God.[23] Using Augustine for this message underscores the general theme of the *Pia Desideria*, namely, the love between the soul and God. According to Lynette Black, the *Pia Desideria picturae* representing the affinity between *Amor divinus* and *Anima* gave seventeenth-century devotional emblematics a highly affective turn [fig. 3].[24] The specific presentation of Augustine by words seems to contribute to that turn, and therefore to confirm the affective devotion of the *Pia Desideria* imagery in words.

It would be misleading to consider the affective devotion in the *Pia Desideria* as a specifically Catholic form of devotion. The highly eroticized longing for Christ is not incompatible with Protestantism, and the iconographic imagination had even emerged from the Classics.[25] In spite of the Jesuit convictions of its poet, the *Pia Desideria* is known for its extensive afterlife, consisting of around 150 editions and translations by users from almost all European countries and of different religious backgrounds.[26] Hugo's volume soon had a notable effect on the Catholic literature of other

[23] "Devotional literature" was recently used by Eire for a wide range of religious literature which was viewed or used as a means of shaping the faith of its readers. See Carlos M. N. Eire, 'Early Modern Catholic Piety in Translation,' in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 83–100, especially 85–6, 97–9. Within the scope of this article, my use of the term "devotional" is intended to carefully specify the presentation of Augustine: "focusing on the attraction of the soul to God." My definition is based on the lemmas in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), see "devotion."

[24] See for example Lynette C. Black, 'Popular Devotional Emblematics: A Comparison of Sucquet's *Le Chemin de la Vie Eternele* and Hugo's *Les Pieux Desirs*,' *Emblematica* 9:1 (1995), pp. 1–20, especially 19–20.

[25] See for example Agnès Guiderdoni-Bruslé, '"L'Ame amatante de son Dieu" by Madame Guyon (1717): Pure Love between Antwerp, Paris and Amsterdam, at the Crossroads of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy,' in *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, ed. Arie-Jan Gelderblom et al. [*Intersections: Yearbook for Early Modern Studies* 3] (Leiden, 2004), pp. 297–318, there 301; A. Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 81.

[26] Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, *Corpus Librorum Emblematum* (Montreal, 1997), pp. 112–255. For example, the appropriation of the *Pia Desideria* by the English Protestant Arwaker was studied by Raspa: Anthony Raspa, 'Arwaker, Hugo's *Pia Desideria* and Protestant Poetics,' *Renaissance and Reformation* 24:2 (2000), pp. 63–74. The use of the *Pia Desideria picturae* in the interior of a Lutheran Danish church was explored by Höpel: Ingrid Höpel, 'Antwerpen auf Eiderstedt. Ein Emblemzyklus nach Hermann Hugos *Pia Desideria* in St. Katharina [...],' *De zeventiende eeuw* 20:2 (2004), pp. 322–42. A spiritual French adaptation was studied by Guiderdoni-Bruslé, '"L'Ame amatante de son Dieu"' (see above, n. 25), pp. 297–318. The relationship between *Pia Desideria* and *Goddelicke aendachten* (Divine Meditations, 1653) by the Millenarian Serrarius was briefly explored in K. Meeuwesse, 'Een teruggevonden werkje van Petrus Serrarius,' *Studia Catholica* 25 (1950), pp. 241–63.

Figure 3. Boëtius à Bolswert, *pictura* of emblem 34 from Herman
Hugo's *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp, 1624), engraving. Copy Royal Library
The Hague: 871 F 61.

European countries. The French translation, *Pieux désirs*, and the German adaptation, *Gottselige Begirde*, were both published in 1627 while a Latin edition was printed in Lyon in 1625.[27] Quarles's English *Emblemes* from 1635 seems to be the first Protestant *Pia Desideria* adaptation in Europe.[28]

However, while Vaenius's *Amoris Divini Emblemata* was rooted in the secular emblem tradition inspired by classical themes, the *Pia Desideria*'s way of expressing the soul's progress to God in both words and images could be situated in Jesuit meditational emblematics from the Southern Netherlands.[29] Dutch Protestants had still showed no tendency to adopt that tradition in the late 1620s, and they did not reuse the *Pia Desideria* prior to 1653.[30] Highlighting the devotional character of the *Pia Desideria* in the 1620s, Augustine therefore seems to promote a devotion associated with Catholicism.

Augustine in Vierighe meditatien etc. (*1631*)

Paets's *Vierighe meditatien etc.* is a small meditation book consisting of Dutch translations of five patristic texts [fig. 4]. The volume opens with the pseudo-Augustinian tracts *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, and *Manuale* under the titles *Vierighe meditatien* ('Devout Meditations'), *De Alleenspraecken der Zielen tot Godt* ('The Soul's Soliloquy to God'), and *Handt-Boecxken vander aen-schouwinghe Christi* ('Handbook on the Contemplation of

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[27] Daly and Dimler, *Corpus Librorum Emblematum* (see above, n. 26), numbers J629; J701–J702; J727–728.

[28] The relationship between *Emblemes* and the *Pia Desideria* has been explored by Karl Josef Höltgen, *Aspects of the Emblem: Studies in the English Emblem Tradition and the European Context* (Kassel, 1986), pp. 31–65.

[29] The difference between *Amoris Divini Emblemata* and *Pia Desideria* has been explored by, among others, M. C. Leach, *The Literary and Emblematic Activity of Herman Hugo SJ* (*1588–1629*) (London, 1979), especially pp. 113–22. On the *Pia Desideria*'s roots in the meditation tradition, see, for example, ibid., pp. 122–9; Rödter, *Via piae animae* (see above, n. 10), pp. 17, 25–7.

[30] Heyns's *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales* (1625) is considered to be the first Protestant attempt to appropriate the Roman Catholic religious emblematic tradition. Stronks deals with Heyns's solitary and exceptional position amongst contemporary Protestant emblematists and the lack of success of his *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales* in 'Literature and the Shaping of Religious Identities' (see above, n. 11). The first Protestant *Pia Desideria* adaptation from the Dutch Republic is *Goddelicke aendachten* by Petrus Serrarius, see Meeuwesse, 'Een teruggevonden werkje van Petrus Serrarius' (see above, note 27).

Figure 4. Christoffel van Sichem II, front page of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (Amsterdam,
1631), woodcut. Copy University of Amsterdam: OTM: OK 62-1670.

Christ').[31] The anthology also consists of *Devoote aendachten* ('Devotional Meditations') and *De Strale der Goddelijcker Liefden* ('The Beam of Godly Love'), attributed to Bernard and Anselm respectively.[32]

Vierighe meditatien etc. is a reprint of a book published under the same title by the Antwerp printer Simon Cock in 1547 [fig. 5].[33] It included translations made by the Eindhoven regular canon Antonius van Hemert.[34] Paets followed Cock's lead by integrating woodcuts into the texts. By adding visual imagery to meditative treatises, both versions of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* can be situated in the tradition of meditation enhanced by visual means—a tradition stemming from the Middle Ages and further developed in the *Spiritual Exercises* (1522) by Ignatius Loyola. Ignatius was of the opinion that a believer conceives a situation through images (*memoria* or 'mind') before he examines the situation intellectually (*intellectus* or 'intellect') and before the evocation of devout feelings (*voluntas* or 'will').[35] In this tradition, images therefore gradually enhance the believer's devotion.

This process was also explained in the pseudo-Augustinian texts gathered in the volume *Vierighe meditatien etc.* In the first chapter of the tract

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[31] Like Hugo, Paets did not bring up the attribution of authorship of the tracts in his edition of *Vierighe meditation etc.* It is unclear whether this omission is intentional. It is possible that he was unaware of the texts' origins.

[32] In fact, Bernard and Anselm did not write these tracts. The *Meditationes devotissimae ad humanae conditionem cognitionem* (*Devoote aendachten*) is a medieval compilation and *Stimulus amoris* (*De Strale der Goddelijcker Liefden*) is a twelfth-century text written by Ekbert von Schönau. See for example Verschueren, 'Antonius van Hemert' (see above, n. 13), p. 354.

[33] This translation of the *Meditationes, Soliloquia,* and *Manuale* was published many times by Cock and other printers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Verschueren listed thirteen reprints, but his survey is incomplete. For example, he does not mention Paets's *Vierighe meditatien etc.* from 1631. See Verschueren, 'Antonius van Hemert' (see above, n. 13), pp. 405–522. According to Verschueren, the first print of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* contains a privilege from 1548. Axters also dates the first edition of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* to 1548: Stephanus G. Axters, *Geschiedenis van de vroomheid in de Nederlanden,* vol. 4 (Antwerpen, 1960), p. 220. However, Paets noted that the translation he used was printed in 1547 by Simon Cock according to the privilege awarded him of having the sole publishing rights ("*tot Antwerpen ghedruckt by* Symon Cock *in't Iaer ons* HEEREN 1547, *blijckende by het voorstaende Privilegie hem daer op vergunt*"). See Augustine, *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (1631), preface. I make use of one of Cock's editions of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* that also contains the privilege from 1547: Augustine, *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (Antwerp, [1547]).

[34] On Van Hemert, see Verschueren 'Antonius van Hemert' (see above, n. 13), pp. 405–6. Paets explicitly reused Van Hemert's translation, but some corrections were made by the Amsterdam notary public Daniel Bredan ("*Notaris Publicq tot Amsterdam*"). See Augustine, *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (1631), fol. A2.

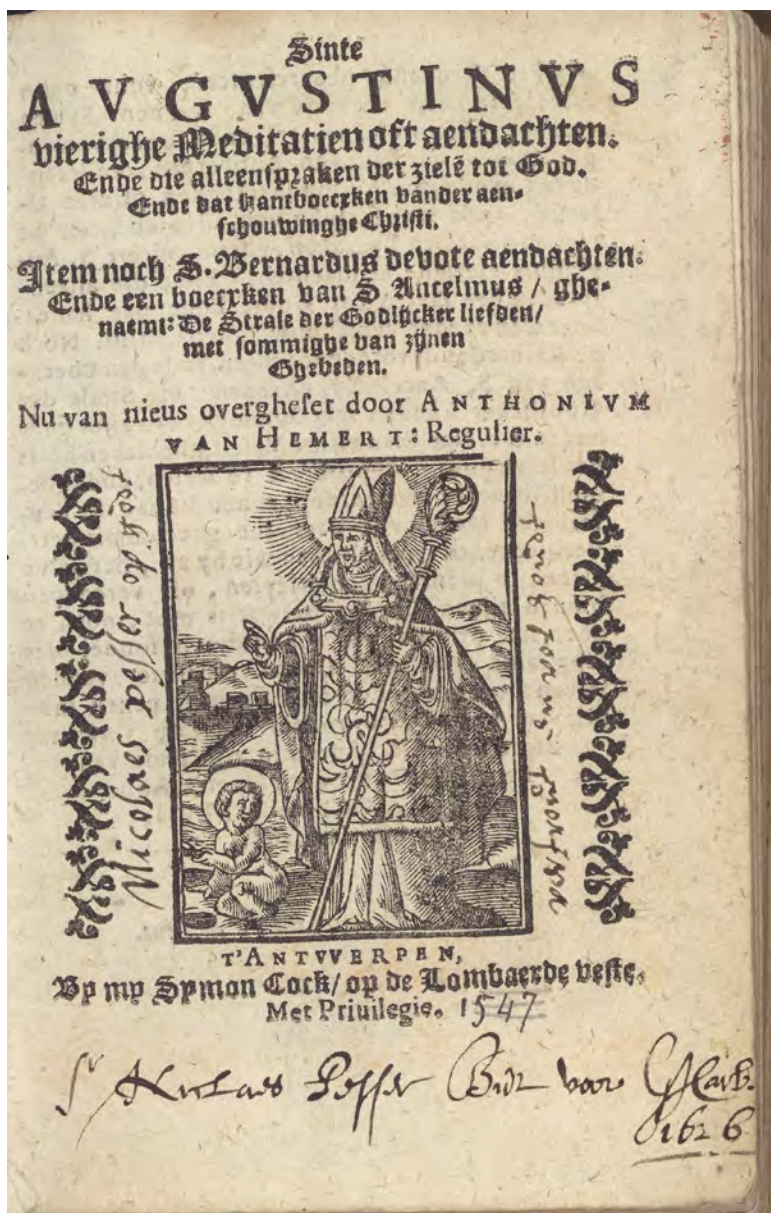[35] See for example Verheggen, *Beelden voor passie en hartstocht* (see above, n. 13), pp. 27–9.

Figure 5. Front page of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (Antwerp, [1547]), woodcut. Copy
University of Amsterdam: OTM: O 62-1503.

Alleenspraecken, a believer hopes for the appearance of God: "Let me see thee, O thou, who art the Light of myne eyes."[36] As it turns out, seeing God will lead to understanding Him, and this understanding will increase the love for God:

> O eeuwighe Licht verlichtet mijn ziele / datse u verstaen / kennen / ende beminnen mach / want by al-dien sy u niet en bemint / daerom en bemintse u niet HEERE, om dat sy u niet en kent. Ende daerom en kentse u niet / om datse u niet en verstaet.[37]

> O thou eternall *light*, illustrate it [=my soul, FD], that it may understand, & knowe, and love thee. For therefore it is O Lord, that he who loves thee not, doth not love thee, because he knowes thee not: and therfore doth he not knowe thee, because he understandts thee not [. . .].[38]

Although both Cock and Paets were convinced of the positive effect of visual aids in meditation processes, Paets replaced Cock's figures with his own picture collection created by the woodcutter Christoffel van Sichem II. Paets states in the preface that the pictures in this volume were "*cierlycker*" ('prettier') and "*veel bequamer*" ('much more suitable') compared to Cock's figures.

> Hier zijn mede by-ghevoeght veel schoone Figuyren die den in-houdt vande materie eenighsins uyt-drucken ende voor ooghen stellen, *veel bequamer ende cierlycker* dan in eenighe vande voor-gaende Drucken, ghelijck als eenen yeghelijck die met verstant kan oordeelen, ooghen-schijnlijck sien sal. [my italics][39]

> Many beautiful figures were added; figures which express and visualize the content of this work, in *a much more suitable and prettier way* than the figures in earlier prints did. I'm sure that everyone who is able to assess them, using their own mind and intellect, will see that.[40]

Paets's song of praise leads us to suspect that there will be striking differences between the figures in both volumes. However, the images in both

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[36] The original Dutch text reads: "laet my u sien ô ghy vreughde mijns herten." Augustine, *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (1631) *Alleenspraecke* 3. Please note that I refer to the separate tracts of *Vierighe meditatien etc.*, since the volume lacks continuous pagination. The source of the English translation is Saint Augustine, *The Meditations, Soliloquia, and Manuall* (Menston, 1972), pp. 203–4. Facsimile reprint of the first edition of this translation, issued by Nicolas de la Coste (Paris, 1631).

[37] Augustine, *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (1631) *Alleenspraecke*, p. 8.

[38] The source of the English translation is Saint Augustine, *The Meditations, Soliloquia, and Manuall* (see above, n. 36), p. 208.

[39] Augustine, *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (1631), preface.

[40] This is my own working translation.

volumes are highly similar; each portrays clergymen at prayer, the suffer-
ing of Christ and Mary crying. Admittedly, the images in Paets's edition
are "prettier": the famous style of Van Sichem's woodcuts is profoundly
detailed and fluid. But are these images also "much more suitable"? Con-
sidering the central function of the visual elements in the *Vierighe medi-
tatien etc.*, "much more suitable" should be clarified to read: much more
suitable for stimulating the reader's feelings of devotion. Paets's figures
could indeed be characterized as "more devotional." For example, Paets's
presentation of Augustine on the title page has a more devotional out-
look than Cock's. Cock's *Vierighe meditatien etc.* depicts a passively poised
Augustine while Paets's Church Father is touched by the rays of God's love
[figs. 4 and 5].

The situation in the opening parts of Paets's and Cock's volumes is simi-
lar. The first sentences of the first chapter of the tract *Vierighe meditatien*
read:

> O HEERE mijn GODT, gheeft mijn herte dat het u begeere / begerende
> soecke / soeckende vinde / vindende beminne / ende beminnende mijn
> sonden af-legge / ende die af-gheleydt hebbende / niet weder en haele.[41]

> O LORD my God! bestowe upon my hart, that I may desire thee; that by desi-
> ringe thee, I may seeke thee; that by seekinge thee, I may finde thee; that by
> loueing thee, I may be freed from all any sins; and that once being freed, I
> may retourne to them noe more.[42]

In Cock's volume, this text was decorated with a depiction of a clergy-
man at prayer imagining an infuriated God [fig. 6]. Paets's version shows
a woodcut depicting a pilgrim connected to the divine love by a rope
[fig. 7]. In this way, the picture does not focus on the awful results of
sinfulness, but on the intense love for God that is necessary to prevent
oneself from sinning.

The figure Paets chose is modelled on a copperplate from the *Pia Desi-
deria*. In fact, half of Paets's collection derives from that one source.[43] The
previous section characterized the *Pia Desideria picturae* as devotional.
In *Vierighe meditation etc.*, these *picturae* add to the devotional presenta-
tion of Augustine in particular: all but one of the *Pia Desideria picturae*

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[41] Augustine, *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (1631) *Vierighe meditatien*, p. 5.
[42] The source of the English translation is Saint Augustine, *The Meditations, Soliloquia,
and Manuall* (see above, n. 36), pp. 1–2.
[43] Twenty of forty-two pictures were taken from the *Pia Desideria*.

Figure 6. First picture (p. 1) of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (Antwerp, [1547]), wood-
cut. Copy University of Amsterdam: OTM: O 62-1503.

Figure 7. Christoffel van Sichem II, first picture (p. 4) of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (Amsterdam, 1631), woodcut. Edition used here: Justus de Harduwijn, *Goddelycke wenschen* (Amsterdam, Pieter Jacobsz. Paets: 1645). Copy Utrecht University: THO: WRT 57-376.

were included in the first three texts of *Vierighe meditatien etc.*, the works attributed to Augustine.

Paets's use of the images from the *Pia Desideria* in those pseudo-Augustinian tracts was profoundly inspired by the selection of pseudo-Augustinian fragments in the *Pia Desideria* itself. I have already shown that Hugo created *textual* relationships between these tracts and the *Pia Desideria* by quoting fragments from the *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, and *Manuale* in his prose anthologies. Paets transformed those connections into *pictorial* relationships with the *Pia desideria*: he illustrated a chapter of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* with the *pictura* from the *Pia Desideria* emblem containing the specific pseudo-Augustinian fragment. To illustrate this transformation process, I will discuss chapter 25 of *Meditationes*, an ode to Jerusalem. Hugo used part of that ode in the prose fragments of emblem 44:

> Mater Hierusalem, Ciuitas sancta Dei, charissima sponsa CHRISTI, te amat cor meum pulcritudinem tuam amat cor meum, pulcritudinem tuam nimium desiderat mens mea. O quàm decora, quàm gloriosa, quàm generosa tu es! Tota pulcra es, & macula non est in te.[44]

> O *Ierusalem*, that art my mother, O thou Holy Citty of God, thou most deere *Spouse* of Christ our Lord, my hart loves thee, and my soule is extreamely desirous to enioy thy beauty. O how gracefull, how glorious, and how noble art thou? *Thou art all faire, and there is noe one spott in thee.*[45]

A figure depicting the longing for God's house was added [fig. 8].

In chapter 25 of Paets's *Vierighe meditatien*, we read the same words in Dutch:

> O Moeder Jeruzalem, ô heylighe stadt GODTS alder-liefste Bruyt CHRISTI, mijn herte bemint u, mijn ziele begheert seer uwe schoonheydt. Och hoe proper, hoe heerlijck, hoe edel zijt ghy. Ghy zijt gantschelijck schoon, ende daer en is gheen vlecke in u.[46]

Paets transformed Hugo's textual relationship into a pictorial one by "quoting" *Pia Desideria*'s forty-fourth *pictura* next to these words [fig. 9].

In this way, Paets faithfully followed the *Pia Desideria*. While Hugo predominantly used the *Soliloquia*, Paets put most of his *Pia Desideria* figures in his *Alleenspraecken*; since Hugo hardly used the *Manuale*, Paets only

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[44] Hugo Herman, *Pia Desideria* emblem 44, online: http://emblems.let.uu.nl/hu1624044 .html.

[45] The source of the English translation is Saint Augustine, *The Meditations, Soliloquia, and Manuall* (see above, n. 36), pp. 87–8.

[46] Augustine, *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (1631) *Vierighe meditatien*, p. 111.

Figure 8. Boëtius à Bolswert, *pictura* of emblem 44 from Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp, 1624), engraving. Copy Royal Library The Hague: 871 F 61.

414 GODDELYCKE WENSCHEN

*Quam dilecta à tabernacula tua Domine virtu-
tum! concupiscit & deficit anima mea in
atria Domini,* Psal 83.

Figure 9. Christoffel van Sichem II, *pictura* of emblem 44, woodcut. Edition used here: Justus de Harduwijn, *Goddelycke wenschen* (Amsterdam, Pieter Jacobsz. Paets: 1645). Copy Utrecht University: THO: WRT 57-376.

illustrated his *Handt-Boecxken* twice.[47] Paets's use of images therefore confirmed Hugo's preference for the affective parts of the tracts; Paets used visual means to highlight the devotional perception of Augustine.

Since not *every* textual reference from the *Pia Desideria* was transformed into a pictorial one by Paets, the devotional reading of Augustine was also promoted by the selection of references. Hugo had quoted from chapter 25 of the *Meditationes* in emblem 44, also using the same chapter in emblem 34 [fig. 3]. We have already seen that chapter 25 of Paets's *Vierighe meditatien* was depicted by *pictura* 44. Nevertheless, the picture of emblem 34 was not reused by Paets. The visible devotion probably influenced the selection. *Pictura* 44 explicitly depicts the longing for God in *Anima*'s pose: she extends her arms to the Lord in heaven. In *pictura* 34, the longing for God is expressed more metaphorically, by using the magnet as a symbol of attraction. Paets frequently neglected relationships between the pseudo-Augustinian tracts and the *Pia Desideria* because of a lack of devotional expression. For example, Hugo quoted pseudo-Augustine in emblem 4, but Paets did not reuse this picture of the soul's castigation [fig. 10].[48]

Even though Paets did not reuse all available *picturae*, he was very hesitant to create new references between Hugo's emblems and his own *Vierighe meditatien etc*. This only occurs in the first four chapters of *Vierighe meditatien*, to which Paets adds some *Pia Desideria* pictures in his own name. The result of these interventions is clear; *Vierighe meditatien etc.* highlights the affective relationship between God and man from the very outset.

In sum, this analysis of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* has revealed a cumulative reception practice: a gradual process whereby the devotional strength increases each time a new exponent of Augustine's afterlife is added. The devotional character of Augustine was fashioned in the pseudo-Augustinian tracts *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, and *Manuale*, while for his *Pia Desideria*, Hugo selected fragments from the *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, and *Manuale* which explicitly focus on the human longing for God. Paets did the same by highlighting the relationship between God and the believer and thereby placing emphasis on the devotional capacity of both

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[47] In *Vierighe meditatien*, 8 of 24 figures were taken from the *Pia Desideria*; in *Alleenspraecken*, 10 of 11; in *Handt-Boecxken*, 2 of 7.

[48] Furthermore, the prominence of the pseudo-Augustinian fragments in the *Pia Desideria* and thematic similarities between pseudo-Augustinian texts and the *Pia Desideria picturae* seem to have played a part in the selection process.

Figure 10. Boëtius à Bolswert, *pictura* of emblem 4 from Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp, 1624), engraving. Copy Royal Library The Hague: 871 F 61.

the pseudo-Augustinian tracts and the *Pia Desideria* in his *Vierighe medi-tatien etc. Vierighe meditatien etc.* turned out to be a devotional reading of the historical Augustine, which could be situated in the Catholic tradition of meditation enhanced by visual means and focusing on the affective relationship between God and the human believer. The specific presenta-tion of Augustine supports the volume's Catholic spirituality, which is also confirmed by the visual piety of the frontispiece, Van Hemert's explicit introduction as a "regular" and the Antwerp approbation. The Catholic *Vierighe meditatien etc.* clearly distinguishes itself from Protestant editions of the pseudo-Augustinian treatises *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, and *Manuale*. The Dutch 1632 edition of the *Soliloquia* by the minister Caspar Staphorst was printed without any illustrations and was accompanied by theological instructions about God's mercy in the preface and marginalia.[49] When the English Protestant Thomas Rogers reprinted the illustrated English trans-lation of the *Meditationes* and *Manuale* published by the famous printer John Day, he removed all images and added some biblical phrases.[50]

   In comparison to the 1628 *Pia Desideria*, words and images in *Vierighe meditatien etc.* present Augustine in a more devotional way—but in one which is also more comprehensible and accessible. In 1628, Paets reprinted all components of the original *Pia Desideria*, including the erudite lyrics embellished with evocative comparisons and cryptic references. *Vierighe meditatien etc.*, on the other hand, combined devotional pictures and clear, instructive prose texts.[51] In the illustrated meditation book *Vierighe meditatien etc.*, the message was not hidden in the combination between image and playful Latin texts, as was the case in an emblem book such as the 1628 *Pia Desideria*. Instead, the devotion was directly expressed by both media. Consequently, in 1631 the image depicting *Anima*'s longing for God's house (fig. 9) was accompanied by an explicit ode to Jerusalem: "O Moeder Jeruzalem, ô heylighe stadt GODTS alder-liefste Bruyt CHRISTI, mijn herte bemint u, mijn ziele begheert seer uwe schoonheydt"[52] ('O *Ierusalem*, that art my mother, O thou Holy Citty of God, thou most deere *Spouse* of Christ our Lord, my hart loves thee, and my soule is extreamely desirous to enioy

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[49] Staphorst Caspar, *Het gulden tractaet* (Amsterdam, 1632).

[50] Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), p. 258.

[51] Elsewhere I have focused on the prominent position of prose texts in meditation literature from the *missio Hollandica*, in particular in meditation literature based on the *Pia Desideria*. See Feike Dietz, 'Dark Images, Clear Words' (see above, n. 10).

[52] Augustine, *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (1631) *Vierighe meditatien*, p. 111.

thy beauty').[53] In the 1628 *Pia Desideria*, the same affective picture was printed next to a baroque Latin poem in which Jerusalem is described by extensive explanations and lavish embellishments. For example, "winds" are not silent in God's house, but "Aeoliquiae animae" ('Aeolian souls') are. Just as it is the "iuba saeva leonis" ('the savage mane of the lion') that refused to roast Jerusalem's corn instead of the "sun."[54] Only educated readers were able to understand comparisons such as these. They would know, for example, that the astrological sign Leo belongs to summer. So when the intermedial presentation of Augustine was exported from the one product to the other, the devotional reading of Augustine was made available to a broader audience in the Dutch Republic.

Conclusion

In the earliest Catholic *Pia Desideria* adaptations from the Dutch Republic, word and image carefully interacted in order to forge and simplify the devotional reading of Augustine step by step. In the 1628 *Pia Desideria*, pseudo-Augustinian words contributed to the devotional affectivity depicted by the *picturae*. Three years later, the visual material deriving from the *Pia Desideria* encouraged the affective devoutness in *Vierighe meditatien etc.*—not only by representing the devout feelings between God and the human believer explicitly, but also by highlighting a more devotional reading of the historical Augustine. Due to the combination of the *picturae* from the *Pia Desideria* and pseudo-Augustinian words, the emotional relationship between God and the believer became the central theme of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* The interaction between word and image not only highlighted a devotional reading of Augustine, but also expressed that reading in a simplified way. The affective pictures were combined with instructive and explicit prose texts, which directly addressed the reader's inner life. By removing Hugo's baroque and erudite lyrics, the Catholic piety became readily comprehensible. In sum, intermedial interactions and transformations increased Augustine's accessibility and confessional potential time and again. In this way, the specific presentation

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[53] The source of the English translation is Saint Augustine, *The Meditations, Soliloquia, and Manuall* (see above, n. 26), pp. 87–8.

[54] Hugo Herman, *Pia Desideria* emblem 44, online: http://emblems.let.uu.nl/hu1624044.html.

of Augustine in both word and image promotes Paets's Catholic message to a broad audience.

The analysis of the interaction between different media in the *Pia Desideria* adaptations shed some light on the religious climate in the Northern Netherlands. The seventeenth-century Dutch Republic was dominated by a minority of Calvinists, who noticeably restricted the practice of the Catholic faith. In a society such as this, illustrated Catholic literature was not cordially welcomed. By publishing the *Pia Desideria* adaptations *Pia Desideria* (1628) and *Vierighe meditatien etc.* (1631), Paets was one of the first to introduce illustrated literature by Catholics in the Dutch Republic.[55] Aware of the innovative and even objectionable character of his project, Paets attributed the printing of his 1628 *Pia Desideria* to the Antwerp printer Hendrick Aertssens.[56] Transformed into a re-edition of *Vierighe meditatien etc.*, the *Pia Desideria* was published in the Dutch Republic for the first time openly: Paets printed his own name on the cover page. It seems probable that publishing treatises ascribed to the flexibly used Augustine could be less objectionable than reprinting the Counter-Reformational *Pia Desideria* without any protection. Since 1628, the pseudo-Augustinian *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, and *Manuale* were published in Latin a few times.[57] Paets's devotional title page of *Vierighe meditatien etc.* was even directly inspired by Johannes Janssonius's edition [fig. 11]. Although Paets was not the very first to introduce the pseudo-Augustinian works and to stimulate a devotional perception of Augustine in the Dutch Republic, his presentation of Augustine markedly increased the devotional power. Instead of being a part of confessionally neutral strategy as a first step in the risky introduction of the *Pia Desideria* in

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[55] Compare note 30.

[56] On pseudo-printing, see for example Paul Begheyn, 'Uitgaven van Jezuïeten in de Noordelijke Nederlanden 1601–1650,' *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13:1 (1997), p. 296; Theo Clemens, 'The Trade from Catholic Books from the Northern and Southern Netherlands 1650–1795,', in *Le Magasin de l'Univers: The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade*, ed. Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck et al. (Leiden, 1992), pp. 85–94. We do not have much insight in the practice and motives of pseudo-printing in the Republic, but I think that Paets attributed the printing of his 1628 *Pia Desideria* to Aertssens in order not to seem objectionable. This observation confirms the view of the historian Charles Parker: in his recent study *Faith on the Margins*, he assumes that Catholics in the Republic experienced more oppression than we are inclined to think on the basis of official restrictions. See Charles Parker, *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2008).

[57] See *Meditiones soliloquia et manuale* (Amsterdam, 1628). Willem Janszoon Blaeu also published *Meditiones soliloquia et manuale* in 1629 and 1631, but his volumes were printed under the name of Cornelis van Egmondt from Cologne.

Figure 11. Front page of *Meditationes soliloquia et manuale* (Amsterdam, 1628).
Copy Utrecht University: THO: PER 143-278.

the Dutch Republic, the historical Augustine was presented devotionally in both volumes, each rooted in Catholic literary and visual traditions. While Janssonius's volume remained unillustrated except for the front page, Paets's *Vierighe meditatien etc.* included highly affective *Pia Desideria picturae*. The intermedial *Vierighe meditatien etc.* is perhaps an illustration of a gradual shift towards a more tolerant religious climate. According to Israel, "[t]he Dutch Republic became a freer, more flexible society after 1630, at least as regards religion and thought."[58] However, we could still wonder if Dutch readers were ready for Paets's activities, since his business seems to have been stopped for no less than thirteen years after 1631. Did Paets's inventiveness meet with little success—or did it even cause some serious problems? Since we do not have any information about Paets's activities between 1631 and 1644, we can only speculate about the reasons for that long break.

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[58] Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995), p. 637.